

Message Text

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45

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SR-02 ORM-03 IO-14

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19

NIC-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DRC-01 /166 W

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P R 121450Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5162

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

S E C R E T BEIRUT 13009

DEPT ALSO PASS CAIRO

PARIS, BONN AND BRUSSELS FOR SISCO

E.O. 11652: GDSO

TAGS: PINS, PFOR, XF, UR

SUBJECT: 'ARAFAT HEADS PLO DELEGATION TO MOSCOW

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REF: BEIRUT 12744

SUMMARY: ARRIVAL IN MOSCOW OF UNUSUALLY HIGH-LEVEL PLO DELEGATION HEADED BY 'ARAFAT, COMBINED WITH CONTINUING FEDAYEEN CONSULTATIONS WITH ARAB GOVTS, SUGGESTS FEDAYEEN LEADERSHIP DRAWING CLOSE TO NEAR-UNANIMITY RE IDEA OF FEDAYEEN PARTICIPATION IN ME PEACE TALKS AND CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. WE BELIEVE FATAH AND SA'QA LEADERSHIPS HAVE ALREADY MADE UP THEIR MINDS ON THIS SUBJECT, AND ANY RECALCITRANT FEDAYEEN LEADERS ARE LIKELY TO COME UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE IN MOSCOW TO DO LIKEWISE. END SUMMARY.

1. HIGH-LEVEL PLO DELEGATION HEADED BY YASIR 'ARAFAT AND INCLUDING PFLP'S HABASH, PDFLP'S HAWATMEH, SAIQA'S MUHSEN, ALF'S KAYYALI AND PNC PRES. FAHOUM REPORTEDLY WILL ARRIVE MOSCOW NOV 12 FOR WHAT ARE DESCRIBED HERE AS HIGHLY IMPORTANT TALKS WITH SOV LEADERS. VISIT IS EXTRAORDINARY BOTH IN TERMS OF QUALITY OF FEDAYEEN REPRESENTATION (IT INCLUDES TOP LEADER FROM EACH GROUP MENTIONED) AND IN FACT THAT IT REFLECTS ENTIRE RANGE OF PLO MEMBERSHIP (TO BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, PAST FEDAYEEN DELS INVITED TO MOSCOW HAVE SELDOM, IF EVER, INCLUDED REPS OF ALL PLO CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS). ACCORDING TO INDEPENDENT DAILY AN NAHAR, TALKS IN MOSCOW ARE FOLLOW-UP TO FEDAYEEN-SOVIET DIALOGUE BEGUN IN BEIRUT OCT 29 (BEIRUT 12624 AND 12705) ON SUBJECT OF PLO PARTICIPATION IN FORTHCOMING ME PEACE CONFERENCE AND CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. CITING "DIPLOMATIC SOURCES" (PROBABLY SOV EMBASSY HERE), NAHAR SAVYS THAT IN CONTRAST TO PAST PRACTICE IN WHICH FEDAYEEN INVITED TO MOSCOW MET WITH SOV AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, PLO DEL EXPECTS BE RECEIVED BY POLITBURO MEMBER KIRILENKO AND POSSIBLY KOSYGIN OR BREZHNEV.

2. ALTHOUGH FATAH ISSUED ANOTHER STATEMENT HERE NOV 11 DENYING REPORTS THAT IT HAD DECIDED IN FAVOR OF PARTICIPATION IN PEACE CONFER-

ENCE, WE UNDERSTAND FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS IN FACT SO DECIDED BUT WILL NOT MAKE DECISION PUBLIC IN ABSENCE OF FORMAL INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE, FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH ARAB GOVTS AND USSR AND CON-
CRETE EVIDENCE THAT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WILL ACTUALLY BEGIN SOON.
'ARAFAT CONSULTED WITH RULERS IN DAMASCUS, BAGHDAD, RIYADH AND CAIRO PRIOR TO LEAVING FOR MOSCOW. LEBANESE TELL US SARG (AND
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SAIQA) HAVE ALSO ADOPTED IDEAL PLO PARTICIPATION. IN ADDITION, WE NOTE FATAH'S SALAH KHALAF AND ABU ZA'IM SCHEDULED MEET WITH LEBANESE PRIMMIN SOLH TODAY FOR BRIEFING ON RESULTS OF SISCO VISIT TO BEIRUT AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE OF FEDAYEEN MOVEMENT AND FATE OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

3. COMMENT: (A) ON BASIS WHAT WE HEAR
IN BEIRUT AND WHAT WE

HAVE SEEN REPORTED FROM ELSEWHERE, WE BELIEVE FATAH HAS AGREED WITH NEAR-UNANIMITY, INCLUDING SALAH KHALAF, TO ACCEPT INVITATION TO PLO TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACE TALKS, SHOULD INVITATION BE FORTH-COMING. WE ALSO BELIEVES SYRIAN-BACKED SA'IQA AND PDFLP SHARE THIS

VIEW, AND THAT LESSER FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS IRAQI-BACKED ALF AND PFLP, WILL EVENTUALLY GO ALONG WITH VIEW OF MAJOR FEDAYEEN GROUPS A

OF MOST ARAB GOVTS. AND USSR RE PLO PARTICIPATION.

THEIR REPS WILL BE UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE TO DO SO WHILE IN MOSCOW.

AS BEST WE CAN JUDGE FROM HERE, ONLY ARAB GOVT. LIKELY TO OPPOSE INVITATION TO PLO WOULD BE THAT OF JORDAN, ALTHOUGH SOME OTHERS (E.G., LEBANON AND SAUDI ARABIA) MAY NOT BE ENTIRELY COMFORTABLE WITH ZATH DECISION AND IRAQ AND LIBYA MIGHT PREFER HARDER LINE.

SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION OF NATURE OF FUTURE PALESTINIAN ENTITY AND ITS GEOGRAPHIC CONFINES IS NOT SO PRESSING AS THAT OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION, SO THERE IS LESS URGENCY FOR FEDAYEEN AND ARAB GOVTS TO REACH

AGREED POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, CLEAR CONSENSUS APPEARS

BE DEVELOPING IN FAVOR OF IDEA OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE ON WEST BANK AND GAZA, IDEA FIRST ADVANCED SERIOUSLY BY EGYPT IN UNSC LAST JUNE.

(B) PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS USED TO PERSUADE RELUCTANT FEDAYEEN TO SUPPORT ABOVE VIEWS APPEAR TO BE : (1) IF FEDAYEEN DO NOT ACCEPT IDEA PLO REPRESENTATION, AND SOON, THEN PALESTINIANS LIKELY BE REPRESENTED BY KING HUSSEIN BY DEFAULT; (2) FEDAYEEN NEED CONTINUING POLITICAL, MILITARY AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF ARAB GOVTS. AND USSR, MOST OF WHOM ARE PRESSING HARD FOR PLO PARTICIPATION; (3) FEDAYEEN TOP LEADERSHIP ALREADY DISPOSED ACCEPT IDEA, AND THEREFORE OPPOSITION BY RANK AND FILE WOULD WRECK WHAT REMAINS OF PRESTIGE AND FORCE OF FEDAYEEN MOVEMENT. IN ADDITION TO PRESSURES BY ARAB GOVTS. AND USSR IN FAVOR OF IDEA OF INDEPENDENT SECRET

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PALESTINIAN STATE, FEDAYEEN SUPPORTERS OF IDEA ARE INCREASINGLY TALKING OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN "IMMEDIATE RIGHTS" OF PALESTINIANS (E.E., WEST BANK AND GAZA) AND ULTIMATE ACHIEVEMENT OF "HISTORIC RIGHTS" (I.E., LONG-TERM GOAL OF SECULAR STATE FOR ALL OF PALESTINE). THIS MAKES IDEA MORE PALATABLE TO RANK-AND-FILE. BUFFUM

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED CAIRO.

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NNN

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